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THE JEWS IN HUNGARY

Description

This report covers the social, political and economic position of the Jews in Hungary prior to the Nazi occupation; the economic discrimination against and expropriation of the Jews under the pro-Nazi government; the subsequent establishment of ghettos and concentration camps followed by mass deportations; the question of Hungarian responsibility and public reaction; Allied and neutral attempts at intervention and rescue. It deals with events through the period ending in September 1944.

Washington
19 October 1944

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SUMMARY

At the time of Germany's occupation of Hungary (19 March 1944) the population of that country included almost a million confessing and "racial" Jews ------ hitherto the largest and best-treated Jewry in Axis Europe.

For over one thousand years Jews had played an active role in the national existence of Hungary, and by the twentieth century had become completely fused with the life of the country and formed a considerable part of its commercial and professional middle class.

Anti-Semitism began to take root in Hungary in the 1920's following that country's defeat in 1918 with its consequent loss of territory and prestige. Economic competition and the need of the reactionaries for a scapegoat provided the bases for active anti-Semitism during this period.

With the growth of Nazi power and influence in the '30s, the Horthy regime adopted an active anti-Jewish policy both as a means of bartering with Hitler and stealing the thunder from domestic Nazis.

The Hungarian Government, however, did not always follow suggestions from Berlin and maintained a higher degree of political independence than other Nazi satellites. In order to avoid the complete alienation of the Allies, the Horthy regime hesitated at following the Nazi policy to its ultimate goals of deportation, starvation and extermination.

Following the German occupation in 1944, new discriminatory legislation was drafted after the Nazi model. Within the space of weeks the yellow badge was introduced, property confiscated, professions and civil service barred to Jews, enterprises closed down, bank accounts blocked, ghettos and concentration camps established, and, finally, the bulk of Hungarian Jewry deported. The result of these measures has been the expropriation of an estimated $4,000,000,000 of Jewish property and the deportation of 800,000 Jews, 640,000 apparently to extermination centers.

This report deals with events occurring through the period ending in September 1944.

THE JEWS IN HUNGARY

I. THE JEWISH SITUATION IN PRE-OCCUPATION HUNGARY

At the time of the Nazi occupation (1944) Hungary's Jewish population had become the largest in Axis Europe. According to the census of 1930, Hungary had 444,567 Jews, the fifth largest Jewish population on the continent (excluding the USSR), but in the following years its Jewish population climbed in the relative scale, as Jews were killed by the hundreds of thousands in other European countries.[1] At the same time, the number of Jews within Hungary increased as territory containing sizable Jewish populations was annexed from Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia:

100,000 in Sub-Carpathian Russia (formerly Czechoslovakia)

50,000 in Southern Slovakia (formerly Czechoslovakia)

170,000 in Transylvania (formerly Rumania)

17,000 in the Bacska (formerly Yugoslavia)

Besides these accretions, 20,000 refugees immigrated from Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Slovakia.

In the most important regions under Hungarian control at the end of 1943, Jews represented the following percentages of the population.

Hungary Proper	
Transdanubia	2.3 percent
Hungarian Lowland (incl. Budapest)	6.9
Zemplan County	8.5
Szabolcs and Ung Counties	6.5
Szatmar, Ugocsa, Bereg Counties	6.2
New Territories	
Southern Slovakia	4.1
Sub-Carpathian Russia	14.1
Transylvania	4.2
Bacska	1.0

1. Between 1939 and 1943 alone over 1,000,000 Polish and 227,000 Rumanian Jews are reported to have been slain.

Of the total Jewish population in 1930, 204,371 (46 percent) lived in Budapest, where they constituted 20.3 percent of the total population. Thus Budapest assumed Warsaw's pre-war position as the largest Jewish community in Europe. Other Hungarian cities with large Jewish populations included:

City	Jewish Population	Percentage of Total Population
Ujpest	11,396	13.0
Miskolc	10,826	19.0
Munkacs	10,500	60.0
Debrecen	10,044	13.0

The average percentage of Jews in the general urban population in 1930 was 14.8 percent; in the rural population, 2.8 percent

A. Historical Background

The Jews of Hungary enjoyed a unique position prior to Hungary's occupation by the Nazis. On the one hand there existed an elaborate discriminatory legislation that virtually eliminated them from the economic life of the country. At the same time they had become so completely fused with the native population that despite its membership in the Axis, the Hungarian Government was reluctant to adopt the Nazi concept of " racism " with its consequent mass deportations, planned starvation and mass extermination.

The explanation for this anomaly is to be found in the history of the Jews in Hungary, for Jewish settlement in Hungary antedates its conquest by the Hungarians. There is evidence that Jews lived in Hungary as far back as the Roman era, although the bulk of Hungarian Jewry arrived during more recent times.

During the medieval period Hungarian Jews suffered the same disabilities and persecutions as their co-religionists in the rest of Europe; they lived in ghettos, wore yellow badges, and paid " toleration taxes". Despite these handicaps, however, Hungarian Jewry flourished and made itself an integral part of the social and economic life of the country. The Jews finally received full citizenship in 1867. The emancipation edict granted them " the same privileges in the exercise of all civil and political rights as the Christian inhabitants," and repealed "all laws, practices, and decrees which (were) in opposition to this provision."

As early as 1855 Jewish religious and educational institutions received annual state subsidies. And in February 1869, the Jewish religious community of Hungary was granted the right to form its own organic statute and representative organization, to maintain public confessional educational institutions, and to levy specific Jewish community taxes, in the collection of which the state tax collection service would cooperate.

With the beginnings of industrial capitalism in Hungary (during the 1870's), the city of Budapest, as the center of political and economic life, offered many economic opportunities to the Jews. The Hungarian middle class filled the civil service and looked down upon commercial endeavor; the German minority were mainly prosperous farmers; the other minorities (Rumanian, Slovak and Serbian) were economically backward. The Jews as a group in society, were thus in a favored position, for they were already experienced in trade, commerce and banking, and were familiar with economic conditions elsewhere. They came to Budapest in large numbers, mainly from the southern and western counties. The same process took place on a smaller scale in the towns and villages where increased commercial opportunities similarly attracted many Jews.

With this trend toward urbanization, the process of assimilation also quickened. Baptism and intermarriage became fairly common. Up to 1920 statistics on baptisms show a constant increase.[1]

Years	Baptisms
1896-1900	261
1901-1905	420
1906-1907	365
1919	7,146
1920	1,925
1921	827
1922	499
1923	412
1924	433
1925	458
1928	451
1929	488
1931-1935	753
1936-1940	2,259

1. Arthur Ruppin, The Jews in the Modern World, London, 1934, pp. 329-331. The enormous increase in 1919 was due to the White Terror, many Jews hoping to escape its persecution by baptism. This was possible, since the White Terror was not "racist" in the Hitlerian sense.

At the same time, a reverse flow was discernible. The conversions from Christianity to Judaism are shown in the following table:[1]

1919	137
1920	168
1921	243
1922	340
1923	311
1924	315
1925	326
1928	271
1929	204

Due to the relatively large number of conversions to Christianity, as well as to the high rate of intermarriage with Christians and the low birthrate among the Jews, the percentage of Jews in the general population fell from 6.2 percent in 1910 to an estimated 4.5 percent in 1940:

Year	Number of Jews	Percentage of Population
1910	471,355	6.2
1920	473,345	5.9
1930	444,567	5.1
1940 (est.)	420,000	4.5

B. The Situation in the Twentieth Century

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Jews had become completely fused with the life of the country. During the existence of the Dual Monarchy, they constituted the commercial middle class of Hungary, developed its industries and trades, and contributed much to the cultural life of its cities. During the first World War, the Jewish community played its part in the country's sacrifice of life and property -- over 10,000 Jews are reported to have died in combat.

With the defeat of Hungary in October 1918, the country lost three-fourths of its territory and became a more or less homogeneous Magyar state. As a result, its aristocracy and bureaucracy lost their estates and positions in Slovakia, Ruthenia, Croatia and Transylvania. Members of this large dispossessed group were forced to seek economic opportunities in a more restricted geographic area. As a result, competition in the field of commerce was somewhat sharpened, and the Jew began to lose the unique place he had occupied under the Hapsburgs.

1. The higher figures for 1922 to 1925 were probably due to the fact that many Jews, baptized in 1919, returned to Judaism.

Internal chaos followed Hungary's military collapse. When control of the government was finally won by the reactionaries, known at that time as the "Whites," a wave of anti-Semitism swept the country. Hungarian Jewry was made the scapegoat for the Bolshevik uprising under Bela Kun. Jewish teachers, professors, judges and other public servants were removed or demoted. More than a thousand Jews are known to have perished during this "White Terror."

In 1920 the first numerus clausus law was enacted,[1] limiting the ratio of Jewish students at the universities to their proportion in the total population of the country; i.e., to five percent of the total number of students. With this move as a start, technical anti-Semitism became a feature of Hungarian constitutional life. Even the stabilization of the government by the Regency of Admiral Horthy in 1920 failed to stem the attacks on Jews. Later attempts by the governments of the next fifteen years were more successful, but although anti-Semitism may have waned during this period it remained a permanent weapon in the political arsenal of the Horthy government. The factors making for the continued maintenance of anti-Semitism were:

1. The desire of urban German and Catholic middle-class elements in Budapest to take over the economic positions of the "big" Jews.

2. The opposition of the landed gentry to land reform. The popular dissatisfaction that existed had to be appeased and the Jewish minority offered the most readily accessible scapegoat.

3. The fact that anti-Semitism provided a common platform upon which urban reactionaries and landowners could unite.

4. The exploitation of the Bolshevik revolution led by Bela Kun (who was of Jewish extraction) as a justification for the maintenance of a reactionary and totalitarian political trend.

Under the Regency, the Jews officially remained partly excluded from civil service and public education, and were somewhat limited in their commercial activities by the refusal of certain licenses. At the same time, the restrictions were modified under the various premiers. Count Stephen Bethlen (1921-31), for example, suppressed the anti-Jewish disorders. During the administrations of Count Julius Karolyi (1931-1932), and Julius

1. Law No. XXV of 1920.

Gömbös (1932-36), the situation of the Jews improved. Even Gömbös, a former militant anti-Semite, declared, upon assuming the premiership, that he had reconsidered his attitude toward the Jews, and invited their participation in the life of the nation. A law enacted in 1926, which provided that Jews were to be represented in the Upper House by one reform and one orthodox Rabbi, may be said to be fairly typical of the period. (The political considerations responsible for this trend are outlined under Section 3, page 8 , below.)

1. The Economic Position . In the economic field, however, the Jewish position continued to deteriorate. As former Christian civil servants and aristocrats entered commerce and the free professions, competition in these fields constantly increased. Between 1920 and 1930 the number of gentile physicians in Budapest doubled to reach 5,000 while the number of Jewish doctors rose from 2,100 to only 2,600. During the same period, the proportion of Jews engaged in commerce fell from 45 to 40 percent, although their absolute number rose by nearly 9,000.

In 1920, the Jews represented 5.4 percent of the gainfully employed population of Hungary; in 1930, 5.1 percent. This decline was more pronounced in certain occupations:

PERCENTAGE OF JEWS

Law:	
1920	49.2
1930	34.9
Medicine:	
1920	64.5
1930	54.5
Transportation:	
1920	14.5
1930	7.3
Journalism:	
1920	49.2
1930	35.3
Education:	
1920	27.3
1930	24.7

As a result of this deterioration in the economic position of Hungarian Jewry, the percentages of Jews in each of the principal occupation categories had become by 1930 as follows:

Occupation	Percentage Jews	Non-Jews
Trade and Credit (including banking and insurance)	40.0	60.0
Pensionists, rentiers, and house-owners	9.1	90.9
Public service and free professions [1]	8.9	91.1
Industry	8.3	91.7
Transportation	3.7	96.3
Day labor	1.4	98.6
Domestic service	1.0	99.0
Mining	0.8	99.2
Agriculture	0.3	99.7
Other occupations	5.7	94.3

Within some of these categories of occupations, the distribution of Jews in 1930 was as follows:

	Percentage	
	Jews	Non-Jews
Trade and Credit:		
Independent	45.6	44.4
Office workers and salesmen	47.6	42.8
Physical workers	29.1	70.9
Industry:		
Independent	11.0	89.0
Office employees, engineers, etc.	33.4	66.6
Physical workers	5.6	94.4
Independent (liberal) Occupations:		
Independent (professionals)	34.2	65.8
Office employees	7.4	92.6
Physical workers (office boys, etc.)	3.1	96.9

It is thus apparent that participation of Jews in independent undertakings and white-collar work was obviously far greater than their percentage of the general population (approximately 5 percent), even in the physical labor categories they were also represented by sizable proportions.

1. The high percentage of Jews in law and medicine was counter-balanced by their smaller participation in public service, engineering, etc.

2. Social Stratification. In 1920 and 1930 the Jewish and Christian populations were represented in the following social classes:

	Distribution Among Jews		
	1920 Percentage	Number	1930 Percentage
Middle Class	45.9	91,840	43.1
Intellectuals	22.9	53,478	25.1
Laborers	31.2	67,917	31.8
	100.0		100.0

	Distribution Among Christians		
	1920 Percentage	Number	1930 Percentage
Middle Class	41.8	1,670,000	44.1
Intellectuals	4.9	199,475	5.3
Laborers	53.3	1,916,187	50.6
	100.0		100.0

3. The Political Position. Despite the economic tension, the political position of the Jews steadily improved until 1933. The reasons for this rested outside the Jewish community itself. Hungary continued to be chiefly concerned with the recovery of lost territories, in which several hundred thousand Jews lived. They were Hungarian in language and culture, and in Transylvania, Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Russia, they maintained a substantial Hungarian press. Consequently it was apparent to the government that it would be poor strategy to alienate this large group by the actual practice of anti-Semitism.

Meanwhile, Nazi influence was beginning to make itself felt in Hungary. And when Hungarian Nazis were elected to the parliament in 1936, it was apparent that Nazi propaganda was showing results. Nazi newspapers, clubs and front organizations, with obvious ties in Berlin, mushroomed all over the country. The weak attitude of the Premier, Kalman Daranyi, moreover, was thoroughly exploited by the Germans.

After 1938, the Horthy regime refurbished its anti-Semitic policy for use as a means of barter with Hitler, hoping that anti-Jewish legislation would assuage the Nazis. The first fruit of this policy was the anti-Jewish law of May 1938 which provided for a gradual reduction over a period of five years of the participation of the Jews in the economic

1. Law Nr. XV of 1938: "Act for the More Efficient Protection of Economic and Social Balance.

and cultural life of the nation to 20 percent. The chief aim of this kind of legislation was to weaken the position of the domestic Nazis by appropriating the anti-Semitic plank of their platform. This cost the ruling group nothing; on the other hand, it deprived the domestic Nazis of their raison d'etre.

Upon the Nazi seizure of Austria, the presige and influence of Hitlerism grew apace and was not without effect on Hungary. Premier Bela Imredy, openly acknowledged his approval and support of the Nazis. Imredy was, however, ousted on the suspicion that he was of part-Jewish origin.[1] Under his successor, Count Paul Teleki, the Nazis made considerable headway in the parliamentary elections of 1939 and returned thirty members.

Teleki's cabinet, although hostile to German encroachment in Hungarian politics, on 4 May 1939,[2] adopted a second and far more sweeping anti-Jewish law, which had been drafted by the preceding Imredy cabinet under the growing pressure of Germany and the domestic Nazis.

Aimed at expressing the anti-Semitic policy of the government, and yet placating the Church in its concern regarding communicants and converts of Jewish extraction, the new law emerged as one of the most complicated documents in the vast field of anti-Jewish legislation. Amplifying the earlier anti-Jewish law, the new act provided for the reduction or exclusion of Jews from Hungarian economic life. Jewish judges of the royal courts were to be retired by 1 January 1940; Jewish teachers were to be removed by 1 January 1943. Within five years after enactment of the law, all licenses held by Jews for the sale of monopoly products were to be revoked; in certain commercial operations Jewish employees were to be reduced gradually to a 12 percent quota. Jews were not excluded from law, medicine, engineering, the theatre, journalism, dentistry and handicraft; but no vacancies in these pursuits were to be filled by Jews until their proportion in each was reduced to 6 percent. Furthermore, the number of Jewish college and university students was to be

1. Imredy is said to have had a Jewish grandmother and a Jewish great grandfather. However, after the Nazi occupation, he was found not to be Jewish by a special investigation commission.
2. Law Nr. IV. of 1939.

reduced at once to 6 percent, while Jewish technology students were limited to 12 percent. The law also empowered the authorities to compel the Jews to turn over or to lease their real estate to non-Jews. No trade licenses were to be issued in any town or village before the percentage of Jewish licenses in that town or village became less than 6 percent of the total. Over forty-three thousand Jews were arrested and tried during 1940 alone for violating the various clauses of this complex legislation. Of these, however, only four hundred were imprisoned and the remainder fined a total of nine million pengöe.

In June 1940, the Budapest Jewish Community published a preliminary estimate of the effects of this second Jewish Law upon Jews in Hungary proper. According to this estimate, over 140,000 persons, including dependents, were affected. White collar workers, salesmen and other commercial representatives, professionals, and holders of special monopoly and trade licenses were slated for statutory elimination from economic life. The total number involved represented 31.5 percent of the Jewish population of "Trianon Hungary". The percentage of those deprived of livelihoods in all of Hungary may be put at between 45 and 50 percent, which would mean that some four hundred thousand Jews in Hungary were without subsistence in 1943.

Despite strong opposition by both Social Democrats and the Church, the Nazi line was followed in other fields. Labor camps for Jews were established. In May 1942, Premier Kallay declared in parliament that every able-bodied Jew would be sent to a labor camp. This threat never fully carried out, but there were some 60,000 to 150,000 Jews (so widely do the reports vary) between the ages of 18 and 60 engaged in compulsory work in labor camps and battalions under military command. These persons were used for general construction work and fortifications within Hungary and on the Russian front, where they are reported to have been placed at the disposal of the Organization Todt. Those who worked in Hungary are said to have been relatively well-treated, whereas the latter were subject to the usual German ill-treatment and were exposed to the dangers of a battle front.

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1. Cf. OSS CID # 28759, 15 February 1944; OSS CID # 26480, 31 December 1943; OSS CID # 29061, 25 February 1944.

As Hungary drew closer to the Reich, the tempo of anti-Semitic action was increased. In January 1940, a decree of the Minister of Education dismissed all Jewish teachers immediately, although according to the Law of 1939 they were to be retired gradually until their complete disappearance in 1943. On 16 November 1940, the Minister of Commerce decreed that only those Jewish tavern and innkeepers who employed gentile help would be permitted to keep their licenses until the final date provided by the 1939 law. Between January and April 1940, Jewish newsdealers, traveling salesmen and peddlers lost their licenses. In October 1940, the Hungarian parliament, upon the return of Transylvania with its large Jewish population, passed a law depriving Jews of representation in the Upper House. On 15 May 1941, a decree provided that a Jewish employee called into military service could be replaces only by a gentile. In 1942, Jews were excluded from the army,[1] and, by another decree, from the civil service. Marriages between gentiles and Jews were banned in August 1941 under pain of five years' imprisonment for both parties. Heavy penalties were also fixed for extramarital relations between gentiles and Jews.

The Hungarian Government, despite this mass of anti-Jewish legislation, did not always follow advices from Berlin. With the possible exception of Finland, it maintained a far greater measure of political independence than the other satellites of the Reich. The Hungarian Government, moreover, with an eye to the deteriorating military fortunes of the Reich and the necessity of impressing the Allies, adopted no official policy of physical violence.

With one exception,[2] Hungary, before the occupation, did not follow the Nazi policy of mass deportation, planned starvation and mass extermination. Prior to the occupation there were no ghettos and no yellow

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1. They were required to render labor service under Army command instead.
2. The darkest spot on the Hungarian record before the occupation occurred in July 1941, when 18,500 Jews who could not produce birth certificates authenticating their Hungarian citizenship were deported to German-occupied Eastern Galicia. Here they were turned over to the German Army and according to eye-witness accounts, 11,500 were slaughtered by Ukrainian bands under German command. The remaining 7,000 were hastily returned by order of the Hungarian Army command.

badges in Hungary,[1] nor was there any indication that these trappings of the New Order would have been introduced by the Hungarian Government of its own free will.

As a result, the persecuted Jews of the neighboring Axis lands looked upon Hungary as a place of refuge. Some 3,000 Polish, 6,000 Slovak, 2,500 Croatian, and 2,000 German and Austrian Jews, among others, managed to enter the country illegally and find refuge. These refugees later attracted the attention of the American Government which participated in efforts to evacuate them.[2] The German press even made loud demands that Hungary cease being a "Jewish paradise" and threatened action if a more satisfactory line were not taken. Hungary, however, although not a Nazi hell, was far indeed from being a "paradise" for the Jews. Economic restrictions deprived many of all means of livelihood; Jews were largely declassed and lost their political rights.

In summary, it may be said that, prior to the occupation of 19 March 1944, the policy of the Hungarian Government toward the Jews had been one of opportunism. On one hand, the Horthy regime sought to placate the Nazis -- German and domestic --(as well as help the urban reactionaries to their share of plunder)-- by adopting anti-Jewish legislation; while, on the other, it endeavored to appease the United Nations by avoiding large-scale physical violence.

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1. This, of course, does not overlook the medieval period. See p. 3.
2. OSS CID # 30059, 15 March 1944; OSS CID # 29755, 7 March 1944.

II. THE JEWISH SITUATION IN NAZI-OCCUPIED HUNGARY

The German occupation of Hungary on 19 March 1944 ended the period of partial toleration for Hungarian Jewry. In general, the pattern of anti-Jewish measures introduced by the Sztójay government was merely a repetition of German anti-Semitic legislation since 1933. But, while in Germany the political, economic and physical liquidation of the Jews was spread out over a period of ten years, in Hungary the same measures were crammed into a few weeks.

During the first days of the occupation the stage was set for future anti-Jewish activities. The Hungarian press and radio laid down a continuous barrage of broadcasts and articles to "prove" the Jewish responsibility for the war, for the economic crisis, for social discrepancies, and for all national and international ills in general. Ten days were allotted for these necessary preliminaries and on 30 March the first new anti-Jewish measures were published.

A. Legal Definition of Jews

The first of these decrees, defining who was to be considered a Jew, accepted as its basis section 9 of Article XV of the Law for Race-Protection of August 1941. According to the purely negative definition of the 1941 law only such persons who have not more than one Jewish-born grandparent were declared "non-Jews." Persons with two Jewish-born and two Christian-born grandparents may be considered as non-Jews, provided that they were born as Christians or were baptized before reaching the age of seven. There were, of course, further ramifications of these categories. This earlier legislation, enacted under the Teleki government, was designed to prevent mixed marriages between Jews and non-Jews, and its definition was applicable only in cases of marriage or sexual intercourse between Jews and gentiles. It had no bearing whatsoever on the political and economic rights of Jews which were regulated by the first and second Jewish laws, enacted under Darányi and Imrédy. After Hungary had entered the war (June 1941), the definition of the Law for Race-Protection was adopted as the basis for enforcing a ruling that Jews were not to serve in the army, but were required to render compulsory military labor service instead. The laws of 1944 proceeded to extend the restrictions.

According to an official statement of 5 May 1944 the category of the half-Jews was further limited by establishing two categories of half-Jews who are to be considered as non-Jews:

1. Half-Jews whose Jewish parent was of Christian faith at the time of marriage are for all purposes considered as non-Jews.

2. Half-Jews whose Jewish parent had never been baptized or had been baptized only after the birth of the half-Jew in question are considered as non-Jews provided that they themselves were baptized before they reached the age of seven. Their acceptance as non-Jews, however, becomes invalid if they are, or have been, married to a partner of partly or fully Jewish origin.

This amplification allows those of the first category to be considered as non-Jews even if married to persons of Jewish origin. The second category, on the other hand, is still restricted by that stipulation.

By the supplement of 15 May 1944 exemptions are allowed only for holders of high military distinctions, severe war casualties, and those individuals who received recognition from the government for their "exemplary attitude" in the counter-revolutionary movements of 1919.

B. Adoption of a "Jewish Badge"

Simultaneously with these acts, the government published a decree according to which any one considered a Jew according to the above definitions was compelled to wear a six-pointed yellow star, four inches in size. Violators of this order were subject to fine and imprisonment up to six months. On 5 April, the day the order went into effect, the Official Gazette (Budapesti Közlöny) published a list of those persons not required to wear the yellow star. These included: 1. priests, monks, nuns, deacons and deaconesses of the Christian denominations; 2. wives, widows and children of those who were exempt on account of high military honors; 3. widows and orphans of this war; 4. foreign nationals living in Hungary; 5. husbands or wives already belonging to a Christian religion if their wives or husbands are not Jews; widows of non-Jews provided they already belong to a Christian religion. Exemption in those latter cases applies only if the children born of these marriages did not belong to the Jewish faith.

C. Limitations on Employment

Two other significant decrees on the German model were also promulgated on 30 March. The first of these prohibits the employment of non-Jewish domestic servants in any household which has a Jewish member.[1] The second decree provides for the dismissal of all Jews from the civil services, municipal administration, public corporations, and public works.[2] Jewish lawyers and notaries public were to cancel their membership in the Chamber of Lawyers by 31 May, and Jewish members of the Press, Theater, and Film Chambers had to resign by 30 April.

D. Restrictions on Movement

On 5 April, the first day on which the Jews were compelled to wear the yellow star in Hungary, steps were taken to control their movements. The decree, as published in the Official Gazette,[3] provided that Jews could not use automobiles; could not travel on trains, boats, or busses without written permission from the authorities; could not be given permission to travel on express trains or in dining cars; and were forbidden to appear in, or attend, theatrical performances.

The travel ban had the effect of preventing Jews from evacuating from the vicinity of possible bombing targets. This purpose was confirmed by Major-General Vörös, Government Commissioner for Evacuation, who stated explicitly on 7 April that Jews were forbidden to emigrate from Budapest. In connection with the evacuation of children from the capital, László Bódy, the deputy-mayor of Budapest, informed the public by posters on 12 April that Jewish children were excluded from the evacuation.[4]

E. Economic Discrimination and Expropriation

The elimination of Jews from economic life was decreed on 6 April.[5] Twenty-five percent of the Jewish employees were to be dismissed by 30 April, a further twenty-five percent by 31 May, and the other fifty percent were allowed to continue in their positions for another six

1. Pester Lloyd, 31 March 1944.
2. Budapesti Közlöny, 31 March 1944.
3. Magyar Izidor lapja, 31 March 1944.
4. OSS CID #85138R, 21 July 1944.
5. OSS CID #91919, 26 June 1944.

months (until 1 October 1944) on condition that application by their employer was granted by the Government Commissioner. In pursuance of this decree all Jews who still hold leading posts in the management of Hungarian banks, industrial and commercial enterprises were eliminated as of 26 April.

On 15 April, the Sztójay government took another step on the German pattern. Every Jew was obliged to declare all his real estate and personal property, provided its value exceeded ten thousand pengö, with an addition of three thousand pengö for each member of the family. As the basis for evaluation, the obviously elastic concept of "market value" was used. All funds in excess of three thousand pengö, gold and platinum articles, jewelry and precious stones were to be confiscated. All bank accounts were blocked, and only a maximum of one thousand pengö per month could be paid out to Jews from these sources, according to an addition to this decree published on 5 May.

The next step was taken on 20 April. The Minister of Trade and Transport ordered the closing down of all Jewish-owned shops and the confiscation of stocks and inventories. According to the terms of this decree all Jewish businessmen were compelled to close their establishments immediately and to report them to the proper authority. The owner of the business and his employees were to enter such a closed establishment only to take inventory. The owner was to continue paying his Christian employees, but was forbidden to sell or transfer his stocks or installations. If the stocks were perishable, they were to be handed over to Christian shopkeepers or cooperatives within four days. Where the business was of national importance, it was to be continued under new Christian management.

As a result of these measures, the Jewish population of Hungary is reported by the Budapest press to have lost twenty billion pengö (approximately four billion dollars).[1] Of the thirty thousand stores and shops in Budapest alone, some eighteen thousand owned by Jews were closed and their owners left destitute.[2]

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1. Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 19 July 1944.
2. OSS CID #86231R, 26 July 1944.

F. Cuts in Food Rations

On 26 April the puppet government, again acting upon German inspiration, required all Jews living in Budapest and the surrounding area to surrender their ration cards for sugar, fats and meat. New ration cards were then issued which restricted the food allotted them, and forbade them to purchase butter, eggs, poppy seeds, paprika, rice and all meats except beef.[1]

G. Creation of a New Jewish Organization

On 21 April the Official Gazette published a decree establishing the Association of Hungarian Jews[2] (which bears a strong resemblance to the Nazi-created Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland). The Association replaced all the various Jewish organizations dissolved by order of the Ministry of the Interior and its primary function, according to Magyarország, was "to see that the anti-Jewish laws are scrupulously carrier out." The following leaders of the Jewish community were appointed to the executive committee of the organization:

Samu Stern, President of the Jewish Community of Budapest
Ernö Peto, Vice-chairman of the Jewish community
Károly Wilhelm, Administrator of the Jewish community of Budapest
Dr. Béla Berend, Rabbi of Budapest
Rabbi Samu Kahan Frankl, Chairman of the Orthodox Jewish congregation of Budapest
Lipót Freudiger de Obuda, Chairman of the Conservative Jewish community of Budapest
Andor Török, author and journalist
Dr. Jozsef Nagy, chief physician of the Jewish Hospital
Dr. János Gábor, legal advisor of the Jewish Community of Budapest

Undoubtedly as the result of powerful Catholic pressure, a separate organization was established for baptized Jews on 6 July.[3]

H. Establishment of Camps and Ghettos

With the announcement of the government order of 31 May regulating the housing of Jews, the situation of the Jews in Hungary rapidly approached its climax. As a preliminary measure, all flats and dwellings in Budapest were to be registered by their tenants. During the spring of 1944 an increasing stream of county and municipal orders poured forth, each seeking to outdo the other in anti-Jewish housing legislation. A few examples of this legislation taken from the Hungarian press (1944) follow:

25 April -- the Jews were to be expelled from Munkács (Mukačevo) and Ungvár (Uzhorod) Hungarian towns with large Jewish populations; the

1. Pesti Hirlap, 23 April 1944.
2. Cited in Pest, 13 May 1944 (News Digest 1457).
3. Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 8 July 1944.

same measures were to be taken in Kassa. (Kosice)

29 April -- The mayor and police of Szabadka (Subotica) fixed the district in which the town's 4,300 Jews could live. On the average, four Jews would be lodged in each room. Every Szabadka Jew had to leave his present home by 5 May. They were forbidden to remove stoves, electrical equipment, and blackout equipment from their houses, and were required to submit a list of their stored furniture. The Ujvidék (Novýsad) Jews were to be moved to Szabadka, the Tisza-line Jews to Szeged, and the Danube-line to Baja. Altogether 2,000 Jews were to be moved to Szabadka, which would then have a population of 6,300 Jews living in a segregated district.

30 April -- The Jews of Nagykanizsa were moved into a ghetto surrounded by barbed wire. Jews may only leave the ghetto when taken to work.

2 May -- In Miskolc thirteen thousand Jews were placed in a ghetto. During the early part of May ghettos were to be set up in Szeged and Ujpest. In the latter town, the ghetto was situated in the industrial area.

3 May -- A fenced-in ghetto was set up in Nagyvárad. The ghetto was to be used by thirty thousand Jews and their resettlement was to take four days. Jews could leave the ghetto only between nine and ten o'clock.

12 May -- A ghetto in Pécs was set up near the main railway station for the accommodation of 3,400 Jews. Baptized Jews were to receive a special place in the ghetto. Jewish doctors could practice only in the ghetto.

15 May -- Roughly sixty thousand Jews in the Pest district were being settled in ghettos in twenty-two communes. This measure was to be concluded on 30 May. It was decreed further that Jews from communities of over ten thousand inhabitants should be settled elsewhere.

17 May -- According to the Berliner Börsen Zeitung, 320,000 Jews living in areas east of the Tisza had been taken to ghettos or camps.

The various items reporting the concentration of Jews in ghettos indicate that these measures have assumed two general forms:

1. All Jews living in communities with a population of ten thousand or less were forced to leave their homes and could take with them

belongings weighing not more than fifty kilograms and funds not exceeding fifty pengo". They were forcibly transported to some larger city with an established ghetto, or if none were available, to an assembly camp.

2. Jews living in the larger cities were rounded up and confined to special districts in ghettos. According to the press reports, there was no attempt at uniformity in the carrying out of these measures in the various parts of the country. In Kassa, for example, all Jews were expelled from the city and a camp was set up for them outside the city area proper. At Sátoraljaujhely on the other hand, the ghetto was set up inside the town and included fifteen thousand Jews who had been transferred from smaller localities in the county. More generally, however, the ghetto was established in the city's industrial area, near the railway yards or other military targets.

With respect to Budapest with its three hundred thousand Jewish inhabitants, no attempt was made to establish an enclosed ghetto. Instead the apartment houses of the capital were designated as either "Jewish" or "Christian" depending upon which group occupied a majority of the apartments.[1] Jews were to vacate "Christian" houses, and Christians were to move from "Jewish" buildings. Another general principle adopted was that "a Jewish family has the right to only one room."[2] Thus if a four-room apartment were occupied by a Jewish family, three other Jewish families were to be settled in the apartment. It is reliably reported that this checkerboard housing pattern was adopted with the definite aim of preventing Allied air raids on the capital. The belief was said to be that if a separate Jewish quarter were established, only the non-Jewish portion of the city would be bombed and the ghetto spared, whereas under the system adopted it was hoped that the Allies would be loath to bomb the city. A similar reason is said to have impelled the location in other cities of ghettos near industrial areas, railroad yards, etc.

I. Deportations

The stage was now set for the logical culmination of the program--the deportation and subsequent extermination of Hungarian Jewry. At the

1. Pest, 13 June 1944.
2. Magyarorszag, 13 June 1944.

time of the German occupation there were in Hungary about eight hundred thousand confessing Jews and some two hundred thousand Christians defined as Jews by the decree of 31 March.

Following the concentration of Jews in various camps and ghettos reports of deportation of Jews began to leak out of Hungary. Crammed freight cars were said to be discharging their human cargo at various extermination centers.[1] At first these reports from Polish and Jewish underground sources were generally disregarded in view of the vigorous denials of the Hungarian government.

The complete story, however, begins to emerge from detailed reports of Swiss and Swedish officials who have left Hungary recently, International Red Cross representatives in Hungary, members of Polish, Slovak and Jewish resistance movements, and from other reliable secret sources.

Apparently the first wave of large-scale deportations began about 15 May and lasted until the middle of June.[2] During this period alone, some four hundred thousand Hungarian Jews were deported.[3] This group included virtually the entire Jewish population east of the Danube, especially in eastern, northern, and northeastern Hungary.[4] This first series of deportations is reliably reported[5] to have included:

Approximately one hundred and thirty thousand from Sub-Carpathia, mainly from the towns of Beregszász, Felsőviső, Huszt, Nagyszőllős, Máramarossziget, Munkács and Ungvár.

Some ninety thousand in Transylvania, primarily from Beszterce, Dés, Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Nagybánya, Nagyvárad and Szászrégen.

Many from Kasea, Gyöngyös, Sátoraljaujhely and Sárospatak.

Approximately seventy-five thousand from the trans-Tisza region, mainly from Kisvárda, Mátészalka, Nagykároly, Nyiregyháza and Szatmárnémeti.

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1. OSS CID #78792S, 9 June 1944; and Source S, 25 May 1944.
2. Source S, 24 June 1944.
3. Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 25 June 1944.
4. Source S, 17 June 1944.
5. Source S, 24 June 1944.

Some twenty thousand from certain towns in southern Hungary, including Baja, Nagykanizsa, Ujvidék, and Szabadka.

Prior to their deportation, these Jews were held in primitive quarters for periods of two to four weeks.[1] Living conditions in these camps are said to defy all description. The Jews were herded together without regard to age, sex or health; food, clothing and water were inadequate; outbreaks of typhus were not uncommon.[2]

From these camps the deportees were loaded into freight cars (sixty to eighty to a car),[3] the doors were nailed shut and then hauled off to Poland. En route the lack of food, water and sanitary facilities is reported to have caused numerous deaths, but the bodies were never removed from the cars.[4]

The number deported daily has been reliably estimated at twelve thousand; seven thousand were shipped via Sub-Carpathia, five thousand through Slovakia.[5] There is little doubt that the majority of these Hungarian Jews were being shipped to the extermination centers of Birkenau and Auschwitz as well as similar establishments in eastern Poland. There is considerable evidence of their arrival at these places and the subsequent extermination of large numbers of them.

J. Responsibility

The problem of assessing the relative responsibility of Hungarian and German authorities for the deportations and other anti-Jewish measures is as difficult as it is important. The collaborationist Hungarian Government has steadily maintained its innocence through the media of the press, radio and diplomatic channels. These protestations have emphasized two distinct points:

1. The Jews have been neither deported nor harmed. Any Jews who have left the country have gone as foreign workers to the Reich where they receive equal treatment with other workers.

2. If atrocities have been committed, they were entirely the work of the Germans and are unknown to the Hungarian authorities.

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1. OSS CID #91919, 26 June 1944.
2. OSS CID #91919R, 26 June 1944.
3. OSS CID #89575, 27 July 1944.
4. OSS CID #78792S, 9 June 1944.
5. Source S, 24 June 1944.

The first of these arguments was evidenced in an address by Lajos Szász, the Minister of Industry in the Sztójay government, in which he stated, inter alia:[1]

> Nobody is aiming at the extermination or vexation of the Jews. None of the government's regulations gives any indication of such aims, which are unworthy of Hungarians. The Jewish problem cannot be solved by anti-Semitism based on hatred. We shall be very glad when the unfortunate people of Ahasuerus find a country and build up a state far from our borders.

Similarly, on 26 June 1944, in reply to an American note of inquiry regarding the treatment of Jews in Hungary (transmitted through the Swiss Government),[2] the Sztójay government stated:

> As defeatist propaganda and agitation of the Jews became more and more perceptible in this decisive phase of the war and in order to prevent repetition of 1918-1919, the government was obliged to eliminate on an increased scale the influence of the Jews. They were consequently separated from the rest of the population and put to more useful work -- either in the country itself or abroad. In doing so the government and its functionaries did not fail to consider the laws of humanity and justice. If individual cases of injustice occurred, they were always due to sporadic acts of some subordinates who were responsible in each case.
>
> Numerous Jews have been placed at the disposal of the German government as workers as was the case for years of tens of thousands of workers of Hungarian nationality and Christian faith. Treatment of these Jews is the same as that accorded other workers in work camps.

The other line of defense is more evident in a statement of 11 July 1944 by Béla Imrédy:[3]

> Contrary to the alarming news spread abroad, not a single drop of Jewish blood has been shed in Hungary by Hungarian authorities or by any Hungarian hand.

This comment indicates that the Hungarians will attempt to argue that the Jewish purge has been carried out "despite" rather than "with the cooperation of" the Hungarian government and its officials. Similarly, Baron Thierry, Counsellor of the Hungarian Legation at Ankara, on 8 August 1944, personally declared to the War Refugee Borad representative there, that there had been no persecution and maltreatment of the Jews in Hungary and that Hungarian authorities only assisted in the deportations in a routine way and not upon their own initiative.[4]

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1. Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 5 June 1944.
2. Source R, 5 August 1944.
3. Magyarorszag, 13 July 1944.
4. Source S, 10 August 1944.

Along the same line, the Agence Telegraphique Suisse reports:[1]

> Well informed circles in Budapest categorically deny that the Hungarian authorities have maltreated or killed Jews .....The Hungarian authorities have placed Jewish manpower at the disposal of the Reich in order to meet this wish of the German ally in the interest of the joint conduct of the war without prejudicing Hungarian war production.
>
> Budapest therefore declares that it is a question not of deportation, but of normal transfer of workers. The part played by the Hungarian authorities is limited to the technical aspects of recruiting.

While it is true that over-all Jewish policy is determined by Gestapo agents in Hungary, headed by Standartenführer Eichmann,[2] it appears clear that:

1. The establishment of concentration camps and the brutal treatment of the inmates were the work of Andor Jaross, the former Hungarian Minister of Interior.

2. The provincial concentration camps were staffed and supervised by Hungarian personnel in collaboration with SS advisors.

3. The ruthless deportations were carried out by the Hungarian gendarmerie under orders of Baky and Endre, two Hungarian anti-Semites, then in the Ministry of Interior.

4. The most bitter opponents of the Jews in Hungary are reliably reported to be the native Hungarian Nazis and the Volksdeutsche.

5. Most of the members of the government, from Admiral Horthy on down, had been vociferous and active anti-Semites long before the German occupation.

It may be said that although Germany supplied the original inspiration for the current anti-Jewish atrocities in Hungary, the collaborationist regime has carried them out with such enthusiasm and thoroughness as to merit an equal share in the guilt.

K. Public Reaction

The general reaction of the Hungarian population to the government's anti-Semitic measures is difficult to characterize. On the one hand, there is evidence that large sections of the Hungarian intelligentsia and the lower middle class, in particular, have accepted the

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1. News Digest 1500.
2. Source S, 27 July 1944.

anti-Jewish propaganda.[1] There exists ample evidence in the Hungarian press of the legal action taken against various elements in the population who sought to enrich themselves by outdoing the government in their zeal to expropriate the Jews by robbery and murder. Similarly, there are reliable reports that the Hungarian gendarmerie has been prone to abuse the Jews even more than the Gestapo.[2]

On the other hand, there are numerous reports of Hungarian assistance to Jewish fellow citizens. In the city of Nagyvárad alone, 2,004 Christians were prosecuted for having in their possession property entrusted to them by the Jewish inhabitants of the city prior to their departure.[3] It may be said that there is no active resistance to the government's anti-Semitic measures. A certain degree of passive resistance, however, may be indicated by the arrests for aiding Jews to procure false baptismal certificates and forged identity papers, concealing Jewish property to avoid confiscation, and other similar stratagems.

1. OSS CID #91919R. 26 June 1944.
2. Source S, 19 June 1944.
3. OSS CID #91760R, 14 August 1944. It is well to remember, however, that this was not always done out of altruistic motives.

III. INTERVENTION AND RESCUE MEASURES

By the time of the first deportations of Hungarian Jews, some two million Polish Jews had been brutally exterminated; the Jews of Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Yugoslavia had been liquidated; and most of the Jewish population of Holland, Belgium, and France had been sent to the "death camps" of Eastern Europe. The fate of all these millions of European Jews had elicited relatively slight notice from a world more interested in the larger issue of the war.

The Nazi occupation of Hungary and the obvious consequences for its Jewry, however, attracted the attention of the entire world. The King of Sweden, the Pope, the President, Congress, and the State Department of the United States, the International Red Cross, and the Government of Switzerland all interceded with the Hungarian Government; various neutral and allied powers, as well as innumerable private agencies, sought to ransom the Jews of Hungary or even to spirit them out of the country.

A. The Brandt Affair

One of the most bizarre developments of the Jewish situation in Hungary was the so-called "Brandt Affair". On 19 May, 1944 a Wehrmacht plane arrived in Istanbul from Vienna carrying two passengers--Joel Brandt, the Budapest representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and Andrew Gyorgy, a Hungarian Gestapo agent.[1] This pair bore the following offer from high Gestapo officials in Budapest to Jewish leaders in Palestine, Great Britain and the United States, and to high Allied authorities:[2]

As an alternative to complete annihilation of all Jews remaining in Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Poland, the Nazis were willing to evacuate one million Jews to Spain and Portugal (although not, as they specifically stated, to Palestine). In return, they required delivery of 10,000 trucks and certain quantities of tea, coffee, cocoa and soap. As an act of good faith, they were prepared, once the offer had been accepted in principle, to release the first lot of five to ten thousand Jews before receipt of the corresponding consideration. They were also prepared to exchange Jews against German prisoners of war. If the offer were rejected,

1. Source S, 7 June 1944.
2. Source S, 9 June 1944.

they would proceed with their program of wholesale liquidation. The emissary had to return to Budapest within a fortnight from 19 May 1944.

As a further incentive, the Nazis announced their willingness to guarantee that the trucks would not be used on the western front.[1]

This combination of blackmail and political warfare was subject to various interpretations. It was viewed as:

1. An attempt to split the United Nations by arousing Russian suspicions of the Western Powers' willingness to deal with the common enemy;

2. A preliminary, if accepted in principle, to further barter deals to obtain a "soft" peace or immunity from criminal prosecution for high Nazi officials;

3. An instrument of psychological warfare to stir up suspicions and ill feelings among various Jewish and non-Jewish groups, depending upon its acceptance or rejection.

This offer was ultimately rejected by the Allies. The Germans were informed (through the Swiss government) that the United Kingdom and the United States would be willing to cooperate in the transfer of Jews from Axis to Allied and neutral territory but only with due regard for military necessities.[2]

B. Neutral and Allied Intervention

The liquidation of a considerable portion of Hungary's Jewish population, from the very outset, was more widely publicized by the international press than the more brutal extermination of over 2,000,000 Polish Jews or those of other Nazi-occupied nations. A wave of indignation swept the world. Partly as a result of this indignation and the pressure of various Jewish organizations, a series of significant representations were made to the Hungarian Government by Allied and neutral powers. These were:

1. The United States note to the Hungarian Government.[3]

2. The King of Sweden's appeal to Admiral Horthy.[4]

3. The representations of the Vatican.[5]

4. The intercession of the International Red Cross.[6]

1. Source S, 7 July 1944.
2. Source S, 5 August 1944.
3. Source S, 5 August 1944 contains the text.
4. Text in Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 11 August 1944.
5. Texts in Source S, 15 July 1944. The Swedish and Vatican representations, although significant and effective, are not treated here because they were fully examined in the general press.
6. Texts in Source S, 12 August 1944.

Although the least publicized, there is little doubt that the unprecedented action taken by the United States Government in addressing an enemy has been the most decisive. The mere fact that the note was addressed to and answered by the Sztojay Government and not by the Regent alone justifies such a conclusion.

In this note verbale, delivered on 26 June, the United States Government requested the Hungarian Government to state its intentions with regard to the Jews. It was couched in the strongest possible terms and President Roosevelt's warning of 24 March was appended to it.

There exist two versions of the answer received from the Hungarian Government. A short version dated 18 July 1944 arrived first.[1] It declared that Hungary would permit the departure of all Jews who have entry permits from another state, Palestine included, and that the Germans had agreed to allow passage of the Jews through occupied areas. A considerably longer version was received on 5 August 1944.[2] It was an elaborate justification of the Hungarian anti-Jewish policy and disclaimed any maltreatment or deportation of the Jews. The note then added that during recent weeks (i.e., since the American note) the situation of the Jews had been improved notably, and gave details of the concessions made:

1. Deportations for work abroad had been temporarily suspended.
2. A number of individual steps had been taken:
   a. The four to five hundred persons who had obtained Swedish nationality from the King of Sweden could emigrate to Sweden or Palestine.
   b. Several thousand Jews were authorized to emigrate to Palestine.
   c. On the basis of War Refugee Board proposals, the International Red Cross had been authorized to arrange for Jewish children under 10 years of age to go to Palestine.
3. The International Red Cross was authorized to assist materially the Jews interned in Hungary.
4. The deportation of baptized Jews for work abroad had been stopped.
5. The revision of the situation of baptized Jews already sent to work in Germany was under consideration.

1. Source S, 18 July 1944.
2. Source S, 5 August 1944.

C. The "Horthy Offer"

As a result of the subsequent representations of the International Red Cross, the Hungarian Government, apparently impressed by threats and exhortations, now sought to atone for its role in the persecution and deportation of Jews. The story goes back to 21 July 1944 when the International Red Cross delegation in Washington reported that the Hungarian authorities had given the IRC Committee in Geneva official assurances that transportation of Jews beyond the Hungarian frontier had ceased and that the IRC was authorized by Hungary to furnish relief to Jews who are interned or in forced residence there. The Committee was furthermore empowered to cooperate in the evacuation of all Jewish children under ten years of age who are in possession of foreign visas. Of prime importance was the concession that all Jews in Hungary holding entrance visas for Palestine would receive permission to leave for that country.[1]

As a consequence of the above offer by Admiral Horthy the United Kingdom and the United States entered upon a prolonged series of negotiations. The British first suggested that the whole matter be turned over to the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. Later they proposed that the formal acceptance of the offer be postponed until the two governments could reach an agreement concerning its implementation. The United States discarded both recommendations as "having a niggardly appearance" and involving considerable delay.

A compromise was finally reached and it was announced on 17 August 1944 that the governments of the United Kingdom and the United States "have accepted the offer of the Hungarian Government for the release of Jews, and will make arrangements for the care of such Jews leaving Hungary who reach neutral or United Nations territory, and also that they will find temporary havens of refuge where such people may live in safety."[2]

The compromise character of this acceptance is apparent. The United States had insisted throughout that Great Britain take action to implement the Palestinian phase of the Horthy offer, with few if any strings attached. The United States finally yielded on this point when the British ceased pressing for this country to meet the International Red Cross request

1. Source S, 21 July 1944.
2. Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 18 August 1944.

(of 25 July 1944) that "the number of emigrant Jews to be admitted to the United States should be substantially increased and a corresponding number of entry permits should be accorded."

Following this Allied acceptance of the Horthy offer, the Hungarian Government lapsed into relative lethargy. It even passively allowed the Germans to carry out smaller deportations of Jews who were not Hungarian nationals.[1]

Allied efforts to rescue the Jews of Hungary came to naught for the following reasons:

1. Gestapo agents of the Sonderoinsatz Kommando in Budapest refused to permit the Jews to emigrate freely from Hungary.[2]

2. Germany refused, furthermore, to grant transit visas to Spain, Portugal, Sweden or Switzerland.

3. The military about-face of Rumania and Bulgaria made it impossible for Jews to depart by this route.

4. The Allied Powers temporized and failed to accept completely this Horthy offer.

Soon reports of renewed deportations began to leak out and it became apparent that the deportations had been resumed on the same large scale as those of May and June 1944.

D. Situation in September 1944

With the failure of the various attempts at expediting the rescue of Jews from Hungary, the situation apparently reached an impasse. According to a reliable source in Budapest, there remain only two hundred thousand Jews in Hungary (mostly in Budapest).[3] Of the deportees, 160,000 are said to be performing labor service in various German-controlled territories.[4] Hungarian Jews are known to be working in Lobau, Mauthausen, Waldsee and Strasshof in Austria. Some 360,000 others have been sent to the various extermination centers and the Gestapo in Budapest has admitted that they have all been killed. This German admission of guilt, however, may possibly have been planted by the Gestapo to strengthen its hand in the various barter

1. Source S, 26 August 1944.
2. Source S, 11 August 1944.
3. Source S, 16 September 1944.
4. Source S, 16 September 1944

deals it is still seeking to arrange.[1] This strategic use, however, does not detract from its credibility in view of the numerous reports of the extermination of Hungarian Jews in Poland and Upper Silesia.[2]

To deal with the remaining two hundred thousand Hungarian Jews, the pro-Nazi government has taken the following measures:[3]

1. Every able-bodied man and woman between fourteen and seventy years of age will be placed in compulsory labor service in agriculture and industry in various parts of Hungary "in the interests of national defense."

2. Those unfit for physical labor are to be transferred to special camps in the rural districts which, with the collaboration of the Red Cross (probably only the Hungarian, not the International), will be financed by the Jews themselves.

3. All infirm and elderly persons who are unable even to go to camps will be grouped in unspecified localities in "Jewish hospitals."

Of Hungary's one million confessing and "racial" Jews there are now only 200,000 remaining in Hungary, plus the additional 160,000 in Nazi-occupied Europe. The others have probably met death or are slated for execution. The fate of any of these who may still be alive, as well as that of the estimated 360,000 survivors depends on the speed of Germany's defeat and the proximity of Nazi collapse.

1. Source S, 4 September 1944.
2. CSS Source, 24 June 1944 and 27 June 1944.
3. Source S, 16 September 1944.

Appendix I

JEWISH LEADERS OF HUNGARY

I. COMMUNITY LEADERS

The official head of the "National Chancery or Organization of Congressional Jewish Communities and chairman of the Jewish Religious Community of Budapest is Court Councillor Sámuel Stern, a food processing industrialist. Chief Rabbi of the Budapest Neolog (Reform) Community is Rabbi Dr. Francis Hevesi.[1] Head of the Orthodox National Chancery is Samuel Frank Kahan (Budapest); of the Conservative Community, Rabbi Dr. B. Bernstein (Nyiregyháza).

The Board of the Jewish Community of Budapest consisted of: Sámuel Stern, chairman; Dr. Ernest Boda, vice-chairman; members Dr. Leó Buday Goldberger,[2] textile industrialist and former member of the Upper House; Coloman Frey, former chairman of the Budapest Stock and Commodity Exchange; Henry Kálmán, president of the British-Hungarian Bank; Emil Vértes, former chairman of the Association of Budapest Merchants; Dr. Emil Zahler, physician; Dr. Ernest Brody, lawyer and only Jewish member of parliament; Professor Max Rosenak, physician; Dr. Louis Lang, lawyer and former member of the Upper House.

II. POLITICAL LEADERS

Dr. Béla Fábián, former member of parliament; Dr. Géza Dési, former member of parliament and partisan of the conservative-liberal leader, Count Stephen Bethlen.

III. LABOR LEADERS

Dr. Imre Gyoerky, Alexander Propper, and Daniel-Várna, all former Social Democratic members of parliament, and Illés Mónus.

1. Reported to have died since.
2. Said to have been arrested after the occupation.

IV. INDUSTRIALISTS

Baron Alphonse Weiss, head of Manfréd Weiss, Ltd.; Eugene Vida, chairman of the Hungarian General Coal Mines Co., Ltd.; Baron Andrew Hatvany, sugar industrialist; Alexander Deutsch, chemical industrialist; Gustav Lang, machine industrialist; Géza Drucker, Alexander Forbáth, and Emánuel Ágoston, textile industrialists. Baptized Jews: Dr. Francis Chorin, former chairman of the National Association of Industrialists and head of the Rimamurány-Salgotarján Coal, Iron, and Steel Combine; Dr. Paul Biró, his chief aide; Dr. Joseph Hiller, chairman of Bauxite Industry, Ltd.

V. BANKERS

Dr. Emil Stein, former president of the Commercial Bank of Budapest; Dr. Stephen Perényi, former director of the Hungarian General Bank of Credit; Emanuel Halász, former director of the General Savings Bank; Baron Marcel Madarassy-Beck, chairman of the Hungarian Bank of Escompte. Baptized Jews: Baron George Ullman, Joseph Bun, Otto Konrád.

VI. PROMINENT JOURNALISTS

Max Márkus, former chairman of the Association of Hungarian Journalists; Thomas Kóbor, former editor of Az Ujság; Imre Salusinszki, former editor of Az Est, Pesti Napló, and Magyarország; Nicholas Lázár, former editor of Reggeli Ujság; Dr. George Kecskeméti, former editor of Pester Llyod; Dr. Béla Ágai, former publisher of Az Ujság; Béla Zsolt, Simon Kemény, Joseph Vágó, George Kemény, Dr. Charles Sebestyén, and Sámuel Nagy.

VII. PROMINENT ATTORNEYS

Dr. Charles Wilhelm, Dr. Andrew Glueckstha1, Dr. Erwin Doroghy, Dr. Ignac Friedman, Dr. Eliás Hevesi, Dr. Béla Berend, and Frederick Párkány.

VIII. PROMINENT PHYSICIANS

Prof. Max Rosenak, Prof. Ludwig Levy, Prof. Z. Aszódi, Dr. Béla Molnár, Dr. Imre Fodor, Dr. Eugene Biederman, and Dr. Ignác Farkas.

APPENDIX II

JEWISH LEADERS IN EXILE

I. COMMUNITY LEADERS

Rabbi Dr. Julius Fischer, Rabbi of the Orthodox Community of Déva; Eugene Hevesi, brother of the Chief Rabbi of Budapest (Reform) and former Hungarian commerical attaché to the United States; Berthold Magyar, textile industrialist and former member of the Board of the Jewish Community of Budapest; Dr. Desider Rakonitz, former attorney of the Orthodox National Chancery, all in the United States.

II. INDUSTRIALISTS

Berthold Magyar, Albert Ungár, Henry Fleischman, and George Popper--textile industrialists; Alexander and Siegfried Lindenbaum, oil magnate; Joseph Schober, Canadian textile industry.

III. JOURNALISTS AND AUTHORS

Franz Molnár, the famous playwright; Dr. Ladislas Boros, former editor of Esti Kurir, and former secretary-general of the International Association of Journalists as well as the Society of Hungarian Journalists. Baptized Jews: Imre Békessy, editor and author; Ignotus (Hugo Veigelsberg), former editor of Nyugat.

IV. PROMINENT PHYSICIANS

Dr. Henry Lax, Dr. Gideon Eroes, Dr. Béla Koovesi, Dr. Julius Holló, Dr. Stephen Rosenak, Dr. Alexander Baron, Dr. Arthur Links, and Dr. Julius Baron, all in the United States.

APPENDIX III

ANTI-SEMITIC PARTIES IN PRE-OCCUPATION HUNGARY

I. IMRÉDY PARTY OF NATIONAL REBIRTH

Béla Imrédy, head of the party; Stephen Milotay and Francis Rajniss, both members of parliament journalists, and anti-Jewish agitators; Anthony Kunder, former army officer and Minister of Commerce in the Imrédy and Sztójay cabinets; Andrew Jaross, former Minister of the Interior in the collaborationist cabinet; Count Dominik Festetich, Francis Ulain, and Béla Jurcsek, Minister of Agriculture in the Sztójay cabinet.

II. PARTY OF HUNGARIAN LIFE

J. Zerinváry, Béla Téglassy, B. Torkos, Béla Huszovsky, George Biró, Nicholas Bonczos, John Szeder, George Bobory, Andrew Mecsér (former Gömbös aide and personal friend of Hitler), and Michael Kolozsváry-Borcsa, chief of press in the Gömbös cabinet and former chairman of the Journalists' Chamber.

III. PRO-NAZI PARTIES

Major Ferenc Szálasi's Arrow Cross Party.

National Socialist Party headed by Representative Charles Meizler and Matthew Matolcsy.

National Socialist Party of Count G. Festetich and Zoltán Meskó.

National Socialist Party of Count Fidel Pálffy.

APPENDIX IV

ANTI-SEMITES IN PRE-OCCUPATION HUNGARY

Abonyi, Ferenc, People's Front Deputy, formerly with the Arrow Cross leader Szálasi,

Almássy, László, Former explorer attached to Rommel's staff. Decorated by Hitler,

Antal, István, The "Hungarian Goebbels;" Minister of Propaganda under Kállay; Minister of Justice and Education in Sztójay government.

Bajor (né Bayer), László, Brig. General (Responsible for Bácska massacres); sentenced to three years imprisonment in 1943.

Baky, László, National Socialist Deputy, former Nazi terrorist and spy; recently ousted as Under-Secretary of Interior.

Baracs, Endre, Deputy (NEP).

Bárczay, János, Former Secretary of State in the Ministry of Agriculture.

Bárczy, Undersecretary in the Premier's office.

Bartha, János, General Secretary of Turáni Vadászok (paramilitary chauvinistic organization).

Basch, Franz, Leader of the German Volksgruppe in Hungary.

Bartha, Károly, General; Referred Bácska massacres as "military acts."

Báthory-Huettner, Editor of Függetlenség (Nazi periodical); former friend of Gömbös.

Bedo, István, Former head of Press Section; Reported arrested on 20 March 1944.

Bethusy, Paul (Count), Director of German-Hungarian Chamber of Commerce.

Bobrik, Arno, former Minister to Buenos Aires and Vichy.

Bodnár, Stephen, Journalist (Magyarság).

Boczonády-Szabó, Imre, Deputy.

Bonczos, Miklós, Minister of Interior in Lakatos cabinet.

Boócz, Köpeczi, István, Editor of Pesti Ujság; was suspended for blackmail.

Borbély, Andor, Editor of Virradat (Nazi paper).

Bornemisza, Géza, Former Minister of Industry in Kállay cabinet.

Botár, István, Deputy (Arrow Cross).

Boercs, János, Deputy (Arros Cross).

Budinszky, László, Deputy (Arrow Cross).

Csicsery-Rónay, Deputy.

Csillóry, András, Deputy (Arrow Cross).

Cindric, Egon (von), Former Hungarian Consul at Cologne.

Dalnok, Miklós, Major General.

Darányi, Béla, General Manager Government Cooperative.

Darányi, Gyula, Former Dean of Medical Faculty at Budapest University.

Dombitz, E., Transocean's Budapest correspondent.

Dischka, Győző, Royal Hungarian Chief Commerce Advisor.

Dulin, Elek, Assistant Director of Press Section (former terrorist of Szeged).

Eliássy, Sándor, ex-Chief of Budapest police (removed in March 1944).

Endre, László, Ardent Nazi, recently ousted as Undersecretary in Ministry of Interior and responsible for much anti-Jewish activity.

Erdélyi, József, Writer, National Socialist and anti-semite, also Arrow Cross leader.

Fabinyi, Tilhámer, Former Minister of Finance.

Fáy, István, Close to Kállay.

Fója, Géza, Writer and Arrow Cross leader.

Festetich, Dominic (Count) Nazi leader and financial backer of Szálasi.

Festetich, György (Count), Arrow Cross leader.

Fiala, Ferenc, Nazi newspaperman.

Fussi, Kálmán, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Gergelyffy, A., Former Secretary of State in Ministry of Interior.

Gesztesi, J., former Press attaché at Vichy.

Ghyczy, Jenő, Formerly Minister of Spain, reported arrested 20 March 1944.

Goldschmidt, George, Editor of Deutsche Zeitung.

Gosztonyi, Sándor, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Grassy, General, Responsible for, and participated in, Bácska massacre; fled to Germany to escape court-martial; returned and was promoted after occupation.

Gruber, Lajos, deputy, Responsible for bombing of Dohany St. Synagogue.

Gundo, László, Deputy (MEP).

Habsburg, Albrecht von, Nazi and financial backer of Szálasi.

Hála, Robert, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Hajnal, Alajos, Leader of Levente (youth organization).

Halmai, János, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Haller, Gábor (Count), Formerly associated with Nazis; sentenced to prison for embezzlement.

Hamm, Franz, Hungarian-German Volksbund leader.

Hász, István, Bishop with Hungarian Army.

Hatz, O., Capt. Former Military Attaché.

Hejás, Iván, Chief terrorist of Szeged, friend of Horthy, and a Nazi.

Herczerg, Ferencz, Famous writer of Swabian origin; Nazi sympathizer.

Hertelendy, Andor, Former Hungarian Counsellor at Vichy.

Hlatky, Endre, ex-Lord Lieutenant of Nagyvarad, now government propaganda director.

Hóman, Bálint, Ardent Nazi ex-Minister of Education; largely responsible for Hungarian cultrual acceptance of Hitlerism.

Hommonay, Tivadar, Former Lord Mayor of Budapest, resigned 25 March 1944.

Horváth, Sandor, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Horthy, Nicholas, Regent of Hungary.

Horthy, Nicholas Jr., Son of Regent.

Horváth, Béla, Deputy, Formerly close to Imrédy.

Hóry, András, Assistant Secretary, Foreign Office; a Nazi of old standing.

Hubay, Kálmán, Self-appointed Nazi leader, former newspaper editor and blackmailer.

Huszár, Aladár, President of National Socialist Institute. President of Turáni Vadászok.

Huszovszky, Lajos, Deputy (MEP).

Ilovszky, János, Deputy (MEP).

Imrédy, Béla, Former premier; despite his Jewish background a violent Nazi.

Imrédy, Kálmán, Hungarian State Railways official, brother of Béla Imrédy.

Incze, Antal, Deputy (MEP).

Jakab, Oszkár, Head of Pénzintézeti Központ.

Jakabffy, Károly, Secretary of State in Department of Supply.

Jaross, Andor, Vice-chairman of Imrédy's National Regeneration Party; former Hungarian leader in Czechoslovakia; Minister of Interior in Sztójay government.

Jungerth-Arnóthy, Mihály, Envoy-extraordinary to Bulgaria.

Jurcsek, Béla, Secretary of State in Department of State under Kállay; Minister of Agriculture in Sztójay government.

Kállay, Miklós, Premier deposed by Nazis.

Kállay, Kristóf, Son of former premier.

Kassai, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Kock, Antal, Arrow Cross Deputy and Nazi, left his party to join Government Party in 1944.

Keintzel, Edo, Deputy (Transylvanian).

Kiss, János, Lt. Fieldmarshal; member of Turáni Vadaszok.

Kodolánzi, János, novelist, playwright and journalist.

Kölcsey, István, Deputy (MÉP).

Kolozsváry-Borcsa, Mihály, Former president of Press Chamber and blackmailer.

Koltay, József, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Konkoly-Thege, Sandór, Secretary of State, Department of Agriculture.

Kornis, Gyula, Catholic priest and Horthy supporter.

Koródy, Tibor, Deputy, former Nazi.

Koromp, Brunswick von, Major General.

Kovács, Alajos, President of Hungarian Statistical Bureau.

Kudriczy, István, Major General, Former head of Levente, para-military youth organization.

Kuncze, Géza, Deputy (MÉP).

Kunder, Antal, Minister of Transport in Sztójay cabinet.

Laky, Dezsö, ex-Minister without portfolio in charge of supply.

Lill, János, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Losonczy, István, former Minister of Supply.

Lunkács, Béla, ex-President of Government Party (MÉP).

Magasházy, László, Colonel, Leader of Army terrorists, head of Nemzetvédelmi Kereszt, para-military organization; has great influence over Horthy.

Makkai, János, Editor of Esti Ujság.

Málnási, Odon, Writter, historian, and leader of Arrow Cross party.

Maróthy, Károly, Editor of Pesti Ujság, Nazi sympathizer.

Marton, Béla, President of Labor Center; former terrorist; despite his Jewish wife is a violent Nazi.

Matolcsy, Mátyás, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Matolcsy, Tamás, Arrow Cross Deputy now probably in MÉP.

Matzhold, Louis, Austrian-born journalist and ardent Nazi.

Mecsér, András, Personal friend of Hitler, was given great land concession In the Ukraine.

Meixner, Emil, Deputy (NEP).

Pesko, Zoltán, Old Hungarian Nazi, founder of first Nazi party in Hungary.

Merkly, ..., Lt. Col., Head of Hungarian counter-espionage.

Nestor, Miklós, Deputy.

Mészáros, Arnold, Catholic priest and member of Turani Vadászok.

Milotay, István, Publisher and editor of Uj Magyarság and Hungarian Nazi.

Mossányi, Kálmán, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Muehl, Heinrich, Volksgruppe leader of the Germans in Hungary.

Nagy, Iván, Deputy.

Nagy, László, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Náray, Antal, President of MTI (Hungarian Telegraphic Bureau).

Németh, Andor, Deputy.

Nyirö, József, Writer and deputy (Transylvanian).

Nyisztor, Zóltan, Catholic priest, publicist, leader in Actio Catholica.

Oláh, György, Correspondent of Uj Magyarság and Nazi leader.

Orsós, Ferenc, University Professor (Budapest) and founder of the Budapest Nazi faction, one of Katyn medical experts.

Osváth, László, Ministry of Interior official.

Ottlik, György, Editor of Pester Lloyd, reactionary and ultra-nationalist.

Paczolay, György, Calvinist minister, chaplain of Bishop Revesz, Deputy (formerly Arrow Cross).

Pálffy, Fidél (Count) Deputy elected to parliament on Nazi ticket; financial backer of Nazis.

Palló, Imre, Deputy and opera singer.

Pándy, Antal, Deputy (Arrow Cross).

Papp, József, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Pataky, Tibor, Undersecretary of Kallay; chief of Hungarian "Gestapo."

Padányi-Gulyás, Jenö, President of Hungarian Cinema Trade Association.

Perényi, Zsigmond, Guardian of the Crown, head of the Upper House; reactionary and ultra-nationalist.

Pintér, Béla, Arrow Croww Deputy.

Piukovics, József, Deputy, Second Lieutenant under Sztójay.

Rátz, Jenő, General, Vice-premier in Sztójay cabinet; Nazi candidate for Vice-regent in 1942.

Radocsay, László, Minister of Justice in Kállay cabinet.

Radványszky, Albert, Baron, Reactionary and ultra-nationalist.

Rajniss, Ferenc, editor and outright Hungarian Nazi.

Rapcsányi, László, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Ráttkay, Kálmán, editor Magyarság and Nazi of long standing.

Rátz, Kálmán, former Arrow Cross leader.

Revasz, László, Calvinist Bishop, Member of Upper House.

Remónyi-Schneller, Lajos, Minister of Finance under Kállay.

Rónay, István, Count, Former intimate of Count Pál Teleki.

Roszner, István, Baron.

Rupprecht, Olivér, Publisher of Magyarság and Nazi leader.

Ruszkay, Jenő, Major General, Enjoys a great reputation in Germany.

Schmidt, W., Ardent Nazi.

Schönborn, Supp, Volksdeutsche Deputy.

Serényi, Miklós, Count, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Solymossy, László, Major General, Head of Levente.

Stitz, János, Deputy (MEP).

Szabó, Lorinc, poet and journalist.

Szabóky, Alajos, High treasury official.

Szalay, László, Deputy (MEP).

Szálasi, Ferenc, former Major, leader Arrow Cross Party; financially backed by Count Festetich.

Szamadó, Ferenc, Arrow Cross leader.

Szász, Lajos, Minister of Industry in puppet cabinet.

Szeder, János, Deputy (MEP).

Szendy, Károly, Former Mayor of Budapest.

Szöllösy, Jenő, Editor of Osszetartas, Arrow Cross organ.

Szögy, Géza, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Szombathelyi, Ferenc, Field Marshal, Former Hungarian Chief of Staff.

Szörtsey, József, Editor of Nemzeti Figyelő.

Sztójay, Döme, Lt. Field Marshal, Minister to Berlin appointed Premier after Nazi occupation.

Szvatkó, Pal, ex-Editor of Magyarország.

Tasnádi-Nagy, András, President of Lower House.

Tatár, Imre, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Tauffer, Gábor, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Táglás, András, Secretary of National Labor Center.

Thuránszky, László, Secretary of State in the Ministerial Council.

Tomcsányi, Kálmán, Key official in Ministry of Interior.

Tomcsányi, Vilmos, Hungarian Commissioner for Sub-Carpathia.

Töröky, Géza, Pensioned Justice of the High Court and long-time Nazi.

Tóth, András, Deputy.

Tóth, János, Arrow Cross Deputy.

Ujszászy, István, Colonel, Assistant Chief of Intelligence, reported killed by Nazis.

Ullein-Reviczky, Antal, former Nazi sympathizer and Minister to Stockholm, now reported to be pro-Allied and organizer of the Free Hungary Movement.

Vajna, Gábor, Nazi and former Szálasi-bodyguard.

Váczy, György, Deputy.

Varga, József, Oil coordinator.

Viczián, István, ex-Lord Lieutenant of Pest County.

Vladár, Gyula, President of Hungarian Supreme Court, Minister of Justice in Lakatos Cabinet.

Werth, Henrik, Lieutenant General, Former Chief of Staff, responsible for troop-movements through Hungary; pro-German.

Uzdóczy-Zadravecz, István, Military Bishop; Hungary's "Father Coughlin."

Zalai, Károly, General, Member of Turáni Vadászok; involved in franc-counterfeiting scandal of 1926.

Zimmer, Lajos, Editor of MTI.

Zöld, Imre, former Arrow Cross Deputy.

Zsidó, Sándor, Rightist Deputy.

Zsindely, Ferenc, Minister of Commerce in Kállay Cabinet.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX V

LEADING ANTI-SEMITES IN COLLABORATIONIST GOVERNMENT

Zoltán Bosnyák--Head of Institute for Jewish Research

László Endre--Commissioner for Jewish Affairs (resigned)

László Baky--Under Secretary of State in Ministry of Interior (resigned)

Andor Jaross-Minister of Interior

István Kultsár--Commissioner for Unemployed Intellectuals

Béla Imrédy-Minister of Economics without Portfolio

Dénes Csánky--Administrator of art treasures confiscated from Jews

Albert Turvölgyi--Government Commissioner for the Utilization of Jewish Property

László Bódy--Deputy Mayor of Budapest

Ákos Doroghi-Farkas--Mayor of Budapest

Anton Kunder--Minister of Trade

Lieutenant Colonel Stephan Dagy--Deputy Chief of Gendarmerie

Aurel Hall--President of Association of Merchants

Peter Hain--Head of Political Police